[illegible] Tuscarora due by the son-in-law's avoidance behavior. Even when concerned, this [illegible] never referred to his name.

[illegible] Between sisters' husbands, who call each other "brother," there is evidence of good friendship and some companionship. Such brothers-in-law often hunt together and frequently visit each others camps. They also constitute mopping partnerships. Talk of a social nature is not supposed to occur in the brother-in-law's presence, because "he's married to my sister." Between a man and his wife's sister there is generally good natural association; a man may woo this woman, and she may offer to help him in some task requiring assistance, particularly when his wife is absent. Women avoid unnecessary contact with the relative. Thus Louisa Man returned a gun which only the ethnographer (classificatorily her sister's husband) and her brother-in-law, Mary Donnelly, were in the cabin. She would not even hand to the gun through the open door. During ceremonies direct social approaches were several times attempted by Old Man's sister-in-law toward their mutual sister-in-law, Louisa. The latter firmly resented this attention.

608 In general, the Kaska feel little need to phrase interpersonal relationships with non-
604 relatives in kinship terms. The reasons are apparent. Kinship in itself is of slight importance
551 in defining relations beyond the nuclear family, and the intensity of wider social relations is governed by frequency of interaction. It is consistent, therefore, that only the most intimate and permanent relations with nonrelatives are marked by use of kinship terms. Non-relatives are most frequently classified as grandfather, brother, sister, and by the sibling-in-law terms, the son, daughter, and parent terms are avoided in such situations.

608 Several instances of artificial kin relationships were observed. If two persons of considerable age difference are thrown into association, the younger person may refer to the older
551 by the grandfather term. The behavior toward this conventional grandparent may vary from respect to teasing. The older person himself is generally familiar and indulgent toward the artificial grandchild, whom he addresses by the given name.

608 In 1947 Old Man was host to his daughter's husband's mother, Lady Bear, who was also his cousin with father's sister's son's wife. Old Man took to calling her "sister." All his daughters called her "grandmother."
601

When the ethnographer and his family became guests of Old Man they were also extensively classified within the kinship system. The ethnographer's wife was called "older sister" by Old Man's daughters. This correlated with the "spectrum of matrilocal residence, in which a daughter brings her husband to her parents' settlement to live. The ethnographer logically became a son-in-law. The ethnographer's children were not called by kinship terms except once when Louisa Man addressed David (a) as "younger brother." The expected term here would have been *wur* ("my sister's son").

Young men who are not related but are interacting in a drinking party often address one another as "brother-in-law." As pointed out above, sibling terms may be used between sweethearts. When kinship terms are extended to non-relatives, they are almost always employed vocatively rather than referentially. A stepmother is referred to and addressed as "mother" and "mama."

551 Among men, between whom there is no relationship, the given name is generally used
609 as a term of address and either the given name or the full name as a term of reference. A man